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was confused with any kind of armor that served as a body-piece. Over this the gipoun fitted snugly. The latter was generally white, and might well have shown rust stains from the iron beneath, after a long campaign; and, as it was sleeveless, it was exposed, especially on the sides, to contact with the sleeves of the habergeon, which might also effect a 'bismotering.'

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ON THE RELATION OF *Old Fortunatus* TO THE *Volksbuch*.

It must be regarded as reasonably certain that Dekker's *Fortunatus* is a recast and enlargement of *The First Part of Fortunatus* mentioned by Henslowe in 1596, and further that both Dekker and his unknown predecessor derived their raw material largely from the same source,—the German *Volksbuch*.¹

But which version did they follow: that represented by the Augsburg (A) texts, or that represented by the Frankfort (F) editions?² Or were both versions used? And how direct is the connection?

"The Augsburg texts," says Herford, "written in a Bavarian dialect, are in many places ampler in detail and circumstance: they use Romance forms more readily; the woodcuts also are wholly different, and on the whole superior, though less elaborate."³

To be more specific, the main textual differences are as follows:—

Chap. XI. A: "ich byn die iunckfraw des glücks;" F: "ich bin Fortuna."

Chap. XIII. According to A, Fortunatus goes to "Nantis;" F has "Andegauis."

Chap. XXX. F omits the warning put by A into the mouth of Fortunatus on bequeathing purse and hat to his sons:

¹ Herford,—*Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 204 ff.; *The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus*, ed. Dr. Hans Scherer, Erlangen u. Leipzig, 1901, p. 1 ff.

² Dates of the earliest extant editions of A: 1509, 1530, 1533, 1534, 1544, 1548; of F: 1547, 1551. I quote from A 1509 and from F 1551.

³ P. 205.

"wenn es dann also gar auss kâme so satzte man eüch nacht unnd tag zu, so lang und so vil byss man eüch darumb brächte. Unnd wissen das ich den seckel sechtzig iar gehebt hab, und hon es kainem menschen nye gesagt, . . . Hierumb so seiend fürsichtig, wañ wa ir darumb kâmen so wurd er eüch nit wider. Also thet es gar wee von grossem reychtumb in armüt zu kômen."

Chap. XXXII. With reference to the reception accorded to Andolosia by the English, A has:

"Doch so sagten sy es wår ymmer schad das er nit ain Englisch man ware, wann sy vermainen das kain besser volck auf erttrich sey dann sy." F has merely: "Sie lobten ihn wievol er nicht ein Englisch Mann war."

Chap. XXXIII. In F the account of the dinner prepared with fuel consisting of costly spices is less detailed than in A. Omitted entirely is the king's comment on the source of Andolosia's wealth: "Wisst ich ainen brunnen da gelt auss zu schöpfen wäre, ich wolt selber auch schöpfen."

Chap. XXXVI. F omits Andolosia's exclamation:

"O almächtiger got, wie seind deine wunderwerck so gross, wie vermag das die natur das so under ainem schönen weiblichñ weibs bild so ain falsch ungetrewes hertz getragñ werden mag, hett ich dir künden in das falsch hertz sehen, als ich dir under dein schönes wolgestalttes Angesicht sach, so wår ich in dise angst uñ not nit kômen."

Chap. XXXVIII. F omits the passage telling how Agrippina's maids tie a rope to her horns and then pull her and the maids hanging to her feet upward over a beam.

Chap. XXXIX. F in describing Andolosia's disguise omits: "unnd etlich farb angestrichen."

Chap. XLVI. F omits the moralizing reflection on Ampedo's death: "Half yn weder schön pallast noch daz bar gelt."

Chap. XLVII. F leaves out Andolosia's reason for his request to be let out of prison: "daz ich doch nit also ellendklichen on beicht unnd on das würdig sacrament hye ersterbe."

Chap. XLVIII. F omits the concluding reflections:

"By diser hystoria ist tzu vermercken, hette der iung Fortunatus im walde betrechtlichen Weiss-hait, für den seckel der reichtüb, von der iunck-frawen des glücks erwölt unnd begert, sy wäre ym auch mitt hauffen gegeben worden, denselben schatz ym nyemandt hett mügen enpfieren, durch welliche weissheit unnd vernunft, er auch tzeitlich

güdt, erliche narung und grosse hab, het mügen erlangen. So aber er ym dotzumal in seiner iugent, umb freüd unnd wollust willen, der welt reichthumb und güd am maysten liebet und geuiele (als ungezweifelt noch von manigem ain solcher seckel für alle vernunft begert wurd) schüff er im selbs und seinen sünen mye und bitterkait der gallen, und wiewol ynen etliche wenig tzeit süss und lieblich was, nam es doch ain sollich ennd, wie ir hyerif vernommen habt. Demnach ain ygklicher dem solliche wal gegeben wurde bedencke sich nit lang, volge der vernunft und nit seinem frechen toerechten gemüdt, und erkyess Weissheit für reichthumb. Als auch gethan hat Salomon, dardurch er der reichest künig der erden wordenn ist. Aber wol ist zu besorgen, die iungfraw des gelücks, die solliche wal aussgibt, und Fortunato den seckel gegeben hat, sey auss unseren landen veriaget, und in diser welt nit mer tzu finden."

As is well known, there are two English prose versions of the Frankfort text. The earliest known copy of one of these bears the date 1676; an extant copy of the other is undated, but belongs approximately to the middle of the seventeenth century (Brit. Museum date "1650?"). As neither version shows any connection with the Dutch translation, the probability is that the English translations were based directly on the German original.⁴ Now, in view of the possibility that the play as we have it had for its direct source an early, *i. e.*, a sixteenth century edition,⁵ of one or the other of these translations, it appears desirable to compare them with F before turning to the play. The 1676 version, it soon becomes evident, is too faithful a rendering to be of service. Not so the "1650?" version (E). That this likewise follows F appears clearly enough. In agreement with F the goddess of chance introduces herself with the words: "my name is Fortune." Where

⁴ See Herford, *op. cit.*, Appendix. Not having access to the Brit. Mus. at present, I must rely on Herford's examination of the Dutch translation (8th. ed., Amsterdam, 1631).

⁵ For references, before 1600, to the Fortunatus story, see Halliwell, — *Descriptive Notices of Popular English Histories*, Percy Society, vol. 23. On June 22, 1615, a copy of *The Historye of Fortunatus* was entered on the Stationers' Register (vol. III, p. 568, Arber), to Mr. Field. This seems to be the first definite mention of an English version. J. P. Collier's identification (*Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, vol. I, pp. 2-3) of the initials T. C. on the title-page of the 1676 copy, with Thomas Churchyard, is not supported by any evidence.

F has the name *Andegavis*, E gives the French equivalent *Angiers*. Both agree as to omissions and condensations. But there are marked differences between the two. Some of these are due solely to the fact that E is a free literary rendering. Two examples may suffice to illustrate this point. In F—and A as well—the gifts offered by Fortune are enumerated in this order: "Weysshait, Reichthumb, Stercke, Gesundthait, Schöne, und langa Leben." In E the order is: "wisdom, health, long life, beauty, strength, and riches." Again, according to the German versions Fortunatus sees in Fortuna only "ein schön Weibsbild" and praises God for meeting a human being once more. E has: "but looking stedfastly upon her he began to ponder whether she might not be a Fary, or bodily shape composed by Delusion." A more important difference consists in an additional adventure in chapter IX, and in the expansion of chapter XXV, which tells of the visit of Fortunatus to the court of Prester John. The English account of this visit is not only more detailed, especially with reference to the feasting and reveling in honor of Fortunatus, but also introduces absolutely new matter, namely an account of the attempts made by Prester John's necromancers to deprive Fortunatus of his purse. Moreover, fear that they may succeed in the end is given as the motive for his departure, instead of longing for his wife Cassandra.

The special features of E would seem to be wholly due to the English translator's avowedly free handling of his copy. "I thought it most convenient," he says in the preface, "by rejecting what was unseemly, rather to collect an abstract of the substance thereof in a plain and English phrase, than to have respect to the literal translation."⁶ Such an attitude must have made it easy for a man of letters not only to curtail and to paraphrase but also to add and to expand, in order to enhance the interest in the story for English readers. The same consideration for his public would account for the translator's silence concerning additions and expansions. It seems to me, therefore, highly probable that he is responsible for all of the departures from the Frankfort text.⁷

⁶ Cf. Herford's Appendix.

⁷ It should be kept in mind, however, that I have been able to examine with care only the two English translations mentioned, and A 1509, and F 1551.

Now, what is the relation of *The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus* (D) to E? Apart from the adventure preceding the action of the play, D agrees with E in the departures from F. That both place riches last in the enumeration of Fortune's gifts may be an accidental coincidence of emphasis. A closer connection is strongly suggested by the parallel passages describing the feelings of Fortunatus when Fortune stands suddenly before him. In E he ponders whether she may not be a fairy or an illusion; D makes him exclaim:

Oh, how am I transported? Is this earth?
Or blest Elizium?⁸

He then addresses her as "goddess," while her first words to him contain an allusion to a retinue of "fairy troops," although fairies do not form a part of the dramatic conception at all. More significant still are the references in D to Prester John. As stated above, neither A nor F mentions any exceptional enjoyment of the senses. E and D give special prominence to the revels at the court of the Emperor of the East, and both agree in making Fortunatus leave "through fear, for safeguard of his life."⁹ Allowance must be made, of course, for the essential identity of the translator's and the playwright's public, perhaps also for reasons inherent in the dramatist's conception of the character of Fortunatus, but the balance of probability is distinctly in favor of the inference that the playwright was familiar with and made use of a sixteenth century edition of E.

But this conclusion applies only to the unknown author of the older portion of the play, i. e., the part in which Fortunatus, the father, is the central figure. If Dekker drew on the Frankfort version, directly or indirectly, there is nothing in what must be regarded as his share alone to disclose the fact. What does become fairly evident is that he followed the Augsburg version:—

1. As pointed out above, A alone makes the English King say: "If I knew of a well from which money might be drawn, I, too, would draw." Dekker represents him as thinking that Andelocia (= Andolosia) has made a covenant

with the Devil—"always to swim up to the chin in gold;"¹⁰ and the King's daughter Agrippyne (= Agrippina) is made to exclaim: "I have found the sacred spring that never ebbs."¹¹

2. On discovering Agrippina's treachery Andolosia marvels that nature should make women fair of form and false of heart. No trouble would have befallen him if his eyes had not been deceived by Agrippina's beautiful face (xxxvi). Dekker's Andelocia says:—

O fingers, were you upright justices,
You would tear out mine eyes! had they not gazed
On the frail colour of a painted cheek,
None had betrayed me;
O women, wherefore are you born men's woe,
Why are your faces framed angelical?¹²

3. According to A (xlvi) Andolosia is not only cast into a dungeon; his hands and feet are put into a pair of stocks besides. Dekker makes Montrose say:

Drag him to yonder tower, there shackle him,
And in a pair of stocks lock up his heels,
And bid your wishing cap deliver you.¹³

4. A reminiscence from A (xxx) in the Fortunatus thread of the play consists of the hero's warning:

. . . . These jewels
To both I do bequeath; divide them not,
But use them equally: never bewray
What virtues are in them; for if you do,
Much shame, much grief, much danger follows you.¹⁴

But this warning constitutes a necessary connecting link between the adventures of the father and those of the sons, while it was not needed in the original play, which must have ended with the death of Fortunatus. This addition is therefore clearly Dekker's, and hence adds to the evidence of his indebtedness to the Augsburg text.

5. The main difference in attitude between the two German versions is obviously this, that while F aims at an objective recital of incidents, A is subjective and didactically interpretative. Hence A possessed advantages over F for purposes of

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 1, p. 347, l. 3, from below.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, III, 2, p. 348, l. 5.

¹² *Ibid.*, III, 2, p. 351, l. 27 ff.

¹³ *Ibid.*, V, 2, p. 376, ll. 18–20.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 2, p. 331, the last five lines. See also III, 2, p. 351, ll. 23–25.

⁸ *Old Fortunatus*, I, 1, p. 298, Thomas Dekker, Mermaid Series, 1894.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 2, p. 311, l. 19; II, p. 314, ll. 8–9.

dramatization. It furnished hints F did not contain for the dramatist's fundamental conception. That Dekker availed himself of such hints in creating a larger whole out of the existing play is thus exceedingly probable *à priori*; and this probability gives significance to resemblances that taken by themselves might seem accidental. Andolosa's request in A to be set free long enough for confession and holy communion, his real desire being a chance to escape (XLVII), would accordingly seem to account for the scene in the play where Virtue shrives Andelocia, whose only motive in promising allegiance to her is the desire to get rid of his horns. In a similar manner Dekker appears to have utilized the whole last page of reflections, quoted above. According to these if Fortunatus had asked Fortuna for wisdom, she would have given it abundantly, and no one could have robbed him of his treasure. Through wisdom, moreover, he might have achieved temporal success also. In the play it is Fortune herself who utters this thought, suitably adapted, to be sure:—

"England shall ne'er be poor, if England strive
Rather by virtue than by wealth to thrive."¹⁵

Again, Dekker's *Fortunatus* chooses riches chiefly for the sake of sensual pleasures; but this conception is just that of the moralist of A, who expressly states that the motive of *Fortunatus* was "freud unnd wollust." Lastly, the period of enjoyment, concludes the moralist, in retrospect, was soon cut short by care and the bitterness of gall and death. Here is doubtless the germ of Fortune's menacing prophecy:

But now go dwell with cares and quickly die.¹⁶

To sum up:—

1. *The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus* is based on both versions of the *Volksbuch*. This fact confirms Herford's conclusion (a) that Dekker recast and enlarged an older play, and (b) that the older play ended with the death of *Fortunatus*.

2. Dekker's predecessor followed the Frankfort text; Dekker himself made liberal use of the Augsburg version.

3. It is probable that an early edition of one of the extant translations of F—namely E=

"1650?"—constituted the direct source of the original play.

4. Dekker's share in *Old Fortunatus* rests neither on the Dutch translation, nor on an earlier edition of the English translation by T. C., 1676, both of which follow F. J. P. Collier's conjecture that T. C. stands for Thomas Churchyard is perhaps not an impossible one, but his additional surmise that T. C.'s translation supplied the foundation of the play receives no support from a comparison of the two. Whether Dekker had the German original before him or a translation in Dutch or English cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge concerning Dekker and the translations¹⁷ of the *Volksbuch*.

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THE CHRONOLOGY OF "*Les Châtiments*."

In the collection of poems entitled *Les Châtiments* chronology is sacrificed to an attempt at logical arrangement which seems anything but successful. For example, Book iv is entitled "*La Religion est glorifiée*." The first poem of the Book, headed "*Sacer esto*," is an arraignment of the Emperor for cruelty, and says not a word of religion. The second is a soliloquy of the poet's, who announces to himself, without allusion to matters other than secular, that his rôle is to watch and warn. The third is an attack on the judiciary,—and so it goes. Of the thirteen poems which form this Book, but one,—the poem namely, entitled "*Un autre*,"—deals directly with the theme announced by the title of the Book; while scattered all through the other Books are numbers of fragments which might easily come under the head we are considering.

It is difficult to see the purpose of the precise arrangement given us; but a reading of the poems in the order of their production brings us to some extremely interesting conclusions, which might not otherwise appear. The earliest poem was written

¹⁷ Unless my notes are very much at fault, all of the later English reprints and chap-book condensations—as far as they are represented in the British Museum—are in substantial agreement with the 1676 copy.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, v, 2, p. 382, ll. 6-7.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, i, 1, p. 303, the last line.